

Message Text

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SUBJ: CSCE: PARAMETERS FOR MANEUVERS CBM

REF: STATE 138400

SUMMARY: DESPITE DELIVERY BY US OF NEW INSTRUCTIONS IN REF A, NEGOTIATION OF CBM MANEUVER PARAMETERS REMAINS ON DEAD CENTER. SOVIETS HAVE TOLD US THEY HAVE NEW INSTRUCTIONS TO STICK WITH "WASHINGTON PARAMETERS," AND SUGGESTED THAT UK NO LONGER HAS CONFIDENCE OF ALLIES IN ATTEMPTING TO ROLL BACK NEGOTIATING SITUATION TO THAT OF TEN DAYS AGO. UK IS SERVING ONLY RELUCTANTLY AS INTERLOCUTOR, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS ON PARAMETERS IN CAPITALS, BUT ALSO BECAUSE DUTCH CONTINUE TO RESIST ANY COMMITMENT ON "VOLUNTARY BASIS," WHICH IN UK VIEW IS ONE OF THE PREMISES OF THE UK-SOVIET DIALOG. NEUTRALS ARE NOW CONTEMPLATING FORMAL INTROCUPTION OF COMPROMISE PARAMETERS ON JUNE 20, BUT SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE HEAVY PRESSURE ON THEM EITHER TO REFRAIN OR TO CHANGE FIGURES IN THEIR EARLIER PACKAGE DEAL. END SUMMARY.

1. AS RESULT OF US SUGGESTION PER REFTTEL THAT SOVIETS RESUME DIALOG ON CBM PARAMETERS WITH UK FLOOR LEADER

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FOR ALLIES, UK AND SOVIET DELEGATION CHEIFS MET ON

JUNE 16. UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM LONDON, HILDYARD (UK) TOLD KOVALEV THAT NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA MIGHT RESUME WITH FIGURES REPRESENTING ALLIED MINIMUM TERMS--300 KMS., 21 DAYS, AND 22,000 MEN "OR PERHAPS A LITTLE BIT MORE." HOWEVER, UK WISHED ALSO TO CALL SOVIETS' ATTENTION TO A NEW COMPLICATION. UP TO NOW, UK HAD BEEN ACTING AS ALLIED REPRESENTATIVE ON ASSUMPTION THAT ALL ALLIES COULD IN THE END ACCEPT SOME FORM OF REFERENCE TO "VOLUNTARY BASIS" FOR MANEUVER CBM IN FINAL DOCUMENTS, IF PARAMETERS OUTCOME WERE SATISFACTORY. IN FACT, UK COULD NO LONGER BE CERTAIN THAT CERTAIN ALLIES (I.E., NETHERLANDS) WOULD ACCEPT SUCH A REFERENCE UNDER ANY CONDITIONS. UNTIL THIS WAS CLEARED UP, HILDYARD SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE UK COULD ADEQUATELY REPRESENT ALL ALLIED VIEW AS AN INTERLOCUTOR.

2. IN REPLY, KOVALEV DISMISSED UK ATTEMPT TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON SAME TERMS AS TEN DAYS AGO, SINCE THESE TERMS DID NOT TAKE ACCOUNT OF MORE FAVORABLE "WASHINGTON PARAMETERS." KOVALEV SAID HE COULD UNDERSTAND UK CONCERN ABOUT RETAINING CONFIDENCE OF ALLIES, BUT UK SHOULD REALIZE THAT SOVIETS HAVE NO RETREAT FROM CURRENT INSTRUCTIONS ON PARAMETERS, THAT "MOSCOW LIES BEHIND." AS FOR THOSE ALLIES WHO WERE STILL FIGHTING EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO "VOLUNTARY BASIS," HE COULD ONLY STATE THAT THEY WERE "PLANTING A MINE UNDER THE CONFERENCE."

3. ON JUNE 17, KOVALEV ASKED FOR MEETING WITH SHERER TO DISCUSS IMPASSE WHICH HAD BECOME APPARENT DURING HIS MEETING WITH HILDYARD. IN ONE AND HALF HOUR CBM DISCUSSION, KOVALEV SAID HE HOPED UK COULD FIND A WAY TO CONTINUE CBM DIALOG IF "VOLUNTARY BASIS" PROBLEM COULD BE CLEARED UP "IN A COUPLE OF DAYS," BUT HE COULD UNDERSTAND UK'S CONCERN ABOUT NOT HAVING FULL CONFIDENCE OF ALLIES. FOR INSTANCE, NEITHER US NOR, FROM HIS INFORMATION, FRANCE WAS SUPPORTING UK VIEW ON PARAMETERS. OTHER NATO ALLIES APPEARED TO BE "ON A RAMPAGE" TO SECURE MORE AND MORE UNILATERAL CONCESSIONS FROM SOVIETS. KOVALEV INFORMED US THAT HE HAD RECEIVED NEW INSTRUCTIONS SINCE SHERER'S DELIVERY

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OF REFTEL MESSAGE, AND THAT AS A RESULT HE HAD NO LATITUDE TO ACCEPT ANYTHING LESS FAVORABLE THAN THE "WASHINGTON PARAMETERS," TOGETHER WITH THE "VOLUNTARY BASIS." WHILE THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS ONCE INDICATED IT COULD GO TO 21 DAYS, IF THE OTHER PARAMETERS WERE SATISFACTORY, EVEN THIS AUTHORITY HAD BEEN WITHDRAWN BY MOSCOW. KOVALEV REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT ALLIES SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO UNDERSTAND THAT SOVIETS HAD "NO RETREAT."

4. IN REPLY, WE SAID WE DID NOT UNDERSTAND, NOR DID WE EXPECT ALLIES WOULD BELIEVE, THAT SOVIETS HAD "NO RETREAT," (CONSIDERING THAT IT WAS GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AT CONFERENCE THAT SOVIETS HAD BEEN PRESSING NEUTRALS TO INTRODUCE COMPROMISE WITH A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT SET OF FIGURES EARLIER THIS MONTH. SOVIETS MUST REALIZE THAT US HAD MADE AN ATTEMPT TO CATALYZE A COMPROMISE; THIS ATTEMPT HAD FAILED. CBM'S WERE OF PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE TO OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES AND TO NEUTRALS, AND SOVIETS MUST BE PREPARED TO MAKE REASONABLE COMPROMISES WITH THEM. IN THIS LIGHT, UK FIGURES AS GIVEN TO SOVIETS DID NOT SEEM UNREASONABLE TO US, EVEN IF US COULD ACCEPT SOFTER ONES. IN PARTICULAR, UK THRESHOLD FIGURE SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS ATTEMPT TO INCREASE NUMBER OF SOVIET NOTIFICATIONS; INSTEAD, IT WAS INTENDED TO AVOID POLITICAL PROBLEM THAT VERY FEW STATES WOULD BE COVERED' BY OBLIGATION TO ANNOUNCE WITH THRESHOLD SET AT LEVEL PROPOSED BY SOVIETS.

5. KOVALEV ASSERTED THAT WASHINGTON MUST HAVE HAD A MORE FAVORABLE DEAL IN MIND THAN ORIGINAL NEUTRAL PACKAGE OF 300 KMS., 25,000 TROOPS, AND 21 DAYS, WHEN REFERRING IN REF A TO "FINAL COMPROMISE TEXT" BY NEUTRALS. WE SAID WE DID NOT KNOW CURRENT NEUTRAL INTENTIONS, BUT IN ANY EVENT DID NOT FEEL US COULD USEFULLY SERVE BY GETTING INTO DETAILS OF NEGOTIATION AND PREEMPTING UK.

6. DURING CHIEFS OF DELS CAUCUS IN AFTERNOON OF JUNE 17, ALLIES APPEALED TO UK TO CONTINUE AS ALLIED SPOKESMAN WITH SOVIETS. UK AGREED, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT SOVIETS HAVE BEEN CLEARLY WARNED THAT "VOLUNTARY SECRET

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BASIS" MAY STILL NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL ALLIES. UK ALSO ASKED ALLIED CAUCUS FOR FLEXIBILITY TO GO UP FROM 20-22,000 ON THRESHOLD, ON UNDERSTANDING THAT ALLIES MAY YET GET 24-26,000 IF THEY FIGHT FOR IT, BUT PROBABLY CANNOT REALISTICALLY HOPE FOR A LOWER FIGURE. CANADIAN REP CONTINUED TO HOLD OUT FOR LOWER THRESHOLD, BUT MAJORITY BELIEVED 300 KMS. AREA WAS FIRST PRIORITY, AND THAT NEUTRAL PACKAGE WITH 25,000 TROOP THRESHOLD WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE FINAL RESULT.

7. NEUTRALS ARE STILL CONTEMPLATING INTRODUCTION OF ORIGINAL PARAMETERS PACKAGE OF 300 KMS., 25,000 TROOPS, AND 21 DAYS, AND WILL BE MEETING ON JUNE 18 TO DECIDE WHETHER TO TAKE THIS FORMAL STEP LATER IN WEEK. AUSTRIANS INFORM US THAT AT THE MOMENT LONE DISSENTER IS YUGOSLAVIA,

BUT THAT ALL ARE UNDER CONTINUING HEAVY PRESSURES FROM
SOVIETS NOT TO MOVE.

8. COMMENTS: WE FIND IT FAR FROM SURPRISING THAT
SOVIETS ARE MAKING A MAJOR EFFORT TO STICK WITH
WASHINGTON PARAMETERS, IN KNOWLEDGE THAT AT LEAST
US AND FRANCE HAVE NO MAJOR DIFFICULTIES WITH THEM.
HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE OTHER ALLIES ARE EQUALLY FIRM
ON YIELDING NO MORE THAN NEUTRAL COMPROMISE RESULT,
AND THAT SOVIETS WILL NOT DELAY TOO LONG IN REALIZING
THESEPRESENT "NO RETREAT" STANCE LEST IMMINENT DECISIONS
ON THE JULY SUMMIT GO THE WRONG WAY.
DALE

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECDEF.

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